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MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT:

FY 1981 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

PURPOSE

- 1. PDDYNAMIC is the operational activity for the support of a national minority group, the ${\it ZP/UHVR}$ (Ukrainian Liberation Council) and more directly its publishing and operational element, Prolog Research Corporation, located in New York. An affiliate in Munich, the Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad, publishes a monthly political-literary magazine, Suchasnist (Contemporary Times), books, pamphlets and leaflets (primarily in Ukrainian but occasionally in Russian) for infiltration and clandestine distribution into the Soviet Ukraine, or for passing to official Soviet representatives or travelers abroad. The main purpose of the group's activities and publications are designed to provide intellectual and moral support to those Ukrainian oppositional groups who seek social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system and who encourage liberalizing trends among various strata of the Ukrainian population who oppose the repressive Soviet policy of enforced Russification. This activity is in furtherance of DDO Objective T-2.
- 2. The PDDYNAMIC activity has been favorably reviewed by the Special Coordination Committee (SCC) since 1977 and was most recently reviewed by the SCC on 28 July 1980 in connection with the annual SCC review of covert action and sensitive collection operations as required by E.O. 12036.
- 3. This activity is in compliance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, in that it is covered by Presidential Findings dated 7 June 1978 and has been reported to the appropriate Congressional committees.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

4. In FY 1980, an estimated total of 21,500 items of PDDYNAMIC-produced literature were infiltrated into the Soviet Union including 8,000 copies of the journal Suchasnist ,5,500 issues of the letter-sized Information Bulletin, and some 8,000 copies of books as well as assorted pamphlets

WARLERS FIG. 13 -INTEGRATION AND ESSETT FOR THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF



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published by Prolog. Their distribution mechanism consisted of the following methods: hand carry by travelers to the Ukraine; mailing from Eastern Europe; mailing from the West; and direct passage to Soviet Ukrainians traveling in the West. New distribution channels to the Ukraine were also developed during this period in Eastern Europe, namely, in Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

- 5. In the course of the year, over 80 Prolog collaborators from various Western countries continued a comprehensive traveler program to various areas of Soviet Ukraine both to infiltrate literature and to maintain internal contacts. As a result of this program Prolog has obtained a wide variety of Ukrainian samizdat and general information on conditions in the Republic. has also obtained news of dissident activity and the treatment of political prisoners, including those subjected to psychiatric abuse. Much of the material infiltrated into the Soviet Ukraine is manually duplicated and circulated inside the country, while the samizdat materials are published by Prolog and other Ukrainian groups abroad. During this period, the organization provided some 150 new samizdat documents which were made available to Radio Liberty and other interested groups. Recently, Prolog has supplied internal contacts with cassette and taperecording equipment to enhance the distribution program within the Ukraine.
- 6. The Prolog organization continued its successful program of meeting, vetting, briefing and debriefing suitable Ukrainian emigre students, tourists and academics who travel to the Soviet Ukraine. This program, which has been continuing successfully for over 17 years, was spearheaded by PDDYNAMIC/29 and PDDYNAMIC/57 both of whom traveled to Western Europe several times during the year to maintain personal contact with the travelers and to obtain operational data on Soviet customs procedures and patterns, as well as to gather information about latest political and economic developments in the Ukraine. This information was provided to SE Division reports officers for general background and analysis.
- 7. Prolog has published a total of twelve books during FY 1980 covering a broad range of topics including poetry, biography, novels, essays, and political and historical works, both by Ukrainian authors unable to publish their works internally and by Ukrainian emigres and dissidents living abroad. Important works included Ivan Koshelivets' Oleksander Dovzhenko, a biography of the well-known Ukrainian film director and writer of the 1920's and





1930's, Ivan Maystrenko's A Survey History of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and Selected Works by Yevhen Sverstiuk, a well-known Ukrainian dissident. Other works included Mykhaylo Osadchy's Quos Ego ..., and Behind Bars, a selection of poems by arrested Kiev Helsinki Committee member Mykola Rudenko. In addition, Prolog has significantly expanded its Russian publications program, especially books and pamphlets on the nationlities issues. Works so published included Frantisek Silnicky's The Nationalities Policy of the CPSU, 1917-1922, a reprint of Ivan Dzyuba's famous work, Internationalism or Russification?, Ivan Litvenko's pamphlet The Ukrainian Question and Russia, and Mukhaylo Osadchy's autobiographical work, Cataract.

- 8. PDDYNAMIC/29 continued personal and mail contact with several Ukrainian scholars in Europe and Canada during this period who maintain contact with PRC representatives interested in the Soviet nationalities in general and the Ukrainian nationality question in particular. As a result of these contacts, arrangements were made during FY 80 for the delivery of several shipments of Prolog publications to various academic and political institutes in the PRC concerned with the Soviet nationality problem.
- 9. In New York, Prolog has maintained contacts with a host of visiting delegations, cultural groups, scientists and individual members of the intelligentsia from the Soviet Ukraine. In addition, PDDYNAMIC/57, a young and energetic officer, has met with several representatives from the lower strata of the Ukrainian population both in the United States and in Canada. As a result of these periodic meetings, Prolog has provided a series of in-depth reports on the current political, social, cultural and economic situation in the Ukraine, and elsewhere in the USSR.
- 10. The Prolog group not only has significantly increased its contacts with Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian dissident circles during the reporting period, but also with other nationality minority groups and East European organizations as well. By strengthening contacts with emigre groups such as the Balts, Czechs, Armenians, Georgians and Crimean Tatars, Prolog insured that Ukrainian samizdat literature, as well as Prolog publications on the nationality issue, would be translated into Russian and other indigenous languages and circulated throughout the Soviet bloc. In addition, the Prolog group expanded contacts with several Jewish organizations abroad and recent Jewish emigres living in Israel. Such contacts not only enabled Prolog to initiate new channels of communication with the opposition movement in the Ukraine but also helped to promote closer Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation in the UKSSR and in the West.





- One of the organization's major accomplishments during the reporting period was to develop new contacts in Poland among Ukrainians living in Poland as well as with native Polish groups. The Prolog group has published several articles in their publications calling for increased Ukrainian-Polish cooperation and these have found a positive response in such Polish dissident publications as Kultura and Spotkania. In addition, the organization has established four new channels of distribution into Poland which have contacts with Ukrainian groups in Western Ukraine. They have sent large numbers of their journal Suchasnist into Poland, mainly via Polish contacts in Sweden, as well as various articles in Ukrainian and Polish focusing on the current situation in Ukraine. As a result of these actions, various Polish groups have indicated to the organization that they will not only initiate contacts with Ukrainians residing in Poland but also provide assistance in establishing distribution channels into the western regions of Soviet Ukraine.
- 12. In FY 1980, the Prolog group has also increased their efforts in conducting research on and initiating contacts with labor representatives in Ukraine. In February 1980 they published a special issue of Suchasnist dealing with the plight of the worker in the Ukrainian SSR, including an analysis of workers and their conditions, the demographic and ethnic composition of the labor force and the degree of political awareness of this strata in Ukraine and other republics in the USSR. In addition, PDDYNAMIC/57 conducted several interviews with Ukrainian and other non-Russian workers, who provided valuable insight on working class attitudes and degree of nationality consciousness among workers in the Ukrainian USSR. This information proved useful to SE Division reports officers for general background information on labor activities in the Ukraine.
- 13. During the reporting period, the Prolog group initiated an Islamic program aimed at developing contacts and establishing channels of communication into Soviet Central Asia. For this purpose, they have hired a Crimean Tatar emigre researcher tasked with initiating a book distribution and traveller program into the region as well as with identifying Central Asian emigre groups which would contribute to the efficacy of the program. The researcher has travelled several times to Western Europe during the year, including a trip to Turkey, and has provided useful information with regard to the Soviet Central Asian activity.

EFFECTIVENESS

14. Finally, the effectiveness of the Prolog publication and distribution program is attested to by recent emigres and travellers to the Soviet Union as well as by noted



expatriated Ukrainian dissidents. For example, both Nadya Svitlychna and Raisa Moroz, who were activists in the Ukrainian intellectual community in Kiev, reported that Suchasnist publications are praised by Soviet Ukrainian dissident and non-dissident literary circles In a recent interview with Prolog, Svyatoslav Karavansky, a former Ukrainian political prisoner, stated that Suchasnist is held in high regard by a wide segment of the Ukrainian reading public and that he considered the journal to be the most effective voice of the Ukrainian emigre press. Similarly, in a recent interview with a Ukrainian dissident group in Poland, it was reported that all the members had read Suchasnist and other Prolog publications and that they had many Prolog items in their possession. In addition, there has been a continued campaign in the Soviet press directed against the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" in general and the Prolog organization in particular by such Soviet organs as Kul'tura i Zhittya, Visti z Ukrayini , Vitchyzna, and Vsesvit. During the reporting period, there were at least fifteen major press attacks against Suchasnist and Prolog books, all attempting to denigrate the publishing activities of the Prolog organization and its leaders.

PROBLEMS

15. As in previous years, a major problem faced by the Prolog group during FY 1980 has been continuing inflationary pressures affecting the cost of living as well as publishing and overhead costs. In addition, because Prolog personnel have been maintained at salary levels well below comparative salaries of other organizations, they are finding it difficult to recruit competent individuals to succeed the present aging leadership or to hire adequate personnel for mid-level positions. Similar problems have been encountered in Prolog offices in Munich, which were further aggravated by the decrease of the dollar value in Germany and as a result of relocation expenses and accompanying increased rent expenditures for new quarters. These budgetary problems were alleviated partially by a FY 1980 Reserve Release in the amount of \$30,000. funds were used to offset additional costs incurred by Prolog for distribution purposes and the upkeep of their Munich office and for increased printing expenses.

PLANS

16. Both PDDYNAMIC/29 and PDDYNAMIC/57 will travel to Europe during the coming year to continue the Prolog program of exploiting regular sources and widening working



contacts with other groups and individuals concerned with the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union. As a result of his trip to attend the Madrid Conference in November 1980, for example, PDDYNAMIC/57 significantly widened his contacts among dissident, labor and human rights groups. It is anticipated that he will make several trips to Europe as a follow-up of this activity. In addition, the Prolog group plans to provide various Soviet nationality groups, including the Baltic, Byelorussian, Crimean Tatar, Armenian and Georgian, with increased operational support and with help in expanding their programs of contact operations and publication and distribution of materials in their native languages. It is also anticipated that Prolog's Crimean Tatar researcher will make several trips to Europe and the Middle East for the purpose of further developing contacts and establishing literature distribution channels into Soviet Central Asia.

- 17. In light of recent events in Poland, the Prolog organization plans to initiate several activities aimed at increasing Ukrainian-Polish cooperation. For example, in FY 1981 they plan to publish several special editions of their journal in the Polish language addressed to the Polish and Ukrainian readership in Poland. They also plan to produce a special "Polish Pamphlet" consisting of a collection of materials on the workers movement in Poland as well as other material including translated Polish labor documents into Ukrainian for distribution inside Soviet In order to increase their efforts in establishing contacts with Ukrainian workers, the Prolog group plans to provide more labor information in their publications including sections on the function and role of the trade union in the West as well as material on workers opposition movements in Eastern/Europe.
- 18. Finally, Prolog plans to expand it publications program to the extent that their budget will allow. They will continue publication of the monthly Ukrainian language journal Suchasnist, the Information Bulletin, and some 13 to 15 Ukrainian language manuscripts. In addition to regular publications, the group will increase their program of printing mini-editions of select issues of Suchasnist as well as select Ukrainian and Russian language books (see Annex A for sample copy of such a miniaturized version). This latter activity has generated strong response and has proven to be highly effective in their internal distribution program. Prolog also plans to significantly increase their output of Russian language publications. Among the books on the list will be a collection of essays by Elena Ilina





explaining the nature of the Russo-Ukrainian problem entitled Likbez (Liquidation of Political Illiteracy), a collection of Ukrainian samizdat translated from Ukrainian into Russian, and a special edition of a Russian language "Questionnaire" in which leading Russian dissidents are asked to comment on the status of the nationality question in the USSR.

COSTS

20. It is requested that Operational Activity PDDYNAMIC be renewed for FY 1981 in the amount of

Source of Funds

Funds for PDDYNAMIC were included in the TAD/CAS Operational Program for FY 1981 in the amount of C. The FY 1982 Program will include 7 for this activity.

Budget

See attached breakdown.

Foreign Funds

No foreign currency problems.

Commitments

No additional commitments have been made to the PDDYNAMICs since the establishment of their pension plan.

Funding

In accordance with the approved Administrative Plan.

<u>Accountability</u>

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the approved Administrative Plan.



SECKE

PDDYNAMIC BUDGET BREAKDOWN

FY 1981

Cash Resources	FY 19	80 FY 19	981 <u>FY 1</u>	982
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Agency Subsidy	<u>C</u>	JC	JC	J
Book Sales & Subscriptions	75,0	00 80,0	000 85,	000
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Less Expenditures		IL	70	7
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^{*}Includes F 7 Reserve Release FY-80.

